



UNIVERSITY of
HAWAI'I
PRESS

ERNESTO CONSTANTINO

**ILOKANO
REFERENCE
GRAMMAR**

PALI LANGUAGE TEXTS: PHILIPPINES

(Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute)

Howard P. McKaughan

Editor

ILOKANO REFERENCE GRAMMAR

by

Ernesto Constantino

University of Hawaii Press
Honolulu 1971



UNIVERSITY of
HAWAI'I
PRESS

OPEN ACCESS



Open Access edition funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities / Andrew W. Mellon Foundation *Humanities Open Book Program*.



Licensed under the terms of Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0), which permits readers to freely download and share the work in print or electronic format for non-commercial purposes, so long as credit is given to the author. The license also permits readers to create and share derivatives of the work, so long as such derivatives are shared under the same terms of this license. Commercial uses require permission from the publisher. For details, see <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/>. The Creative Commons license described above does not apply to any material that is separately copyrighted.

Open Access ISBNs:

9780824881931 (PDF)

9780824881948 (EPUB)

This version created: 20 May, 2019

Please visit **www.hawaiiopen.org** for more Open Access works from University of Hawai'i Press.

The work reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the Peace Corps, Washington, D. C. 20525. The opinions expressed herein are those of the author and should not be construed as representing the opinions or policies of any agency of the United States government.

Copyright © 1971 by University of Hawaii Press
All rights reserved

CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	vi
1. Introduction	1
2. Phonology	2
3. Parts of Speech	8
4. Sentence Classification	11
5. Verbal Sentences	14
6. Nonverbal Sentences	24
7. Other Simple Sentences	27
8. Causative Sentences	30
9. Complex and Compound Sentences	35
10. Negative, Interrogative, and Other Modal Sentences	37
11. Other Syntactic Constructions	40

PREFACE

This outline of Ilokano grammar has been developed under the auspices of the Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute (PALI) of the University of Hawaii under Peace Corps Contract #PC 25-1507. It is related to the Ilokano Dictionary by the same author and also to the Ilokano Lessons by Bernabe, Lapid, and Sibayan.

These materials are a part of a series which contains reference materials and lessons for six other Philippine languages (Bikol, Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Kapampangan, Pangasinan, and Tagalog).

As the author indicates in his introduction, this reference grammar concentrates on syntactic structures. Professor Constantino cites morphological forms in depth in his dictionary. The information in the dictionary is not repeated here. Consequently the treatment here should be used in conjunction with both the dictionary and the lessons mentioned above.

It is the hope of the editor and author alike that this booklet will prove of value and interest to learners of Ilokano.

Howard P. McKaughan
Editor

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This is an outline of the grammar of Ilokano, one of the major languages of the Philippines. The principal informant for this work was Miss Josefa Paz who comes from Bantay, Ilocos Sur.

This grammar deals primarily with the syntax of the language, especially surface syntax. Since this grammar was designed to accompany a lexicon of Ilokano, there is only a minimal discussion of the word classes and the morphology of the language.

CHAPTER 2

PHONOLOGY

2.0. Introduction. The minimal phonological units of Ilokano described in this chapter consist of consonants and vowels, stress, length, pitch and pitch terminals. These minimal units combine with one another to form larger phonological units.

2.1. Consonants. Ilokano has seventeen (17) consonants: *b, d, f, g, h, k, l, m, n, ng, p, q, r, s, t, w, y*. Note that the digraph *ng* represents the velar nasal, and that *q* represents the glottal stop. The consonants are arranged in a phonetic chart below which shows their important articulatory properties.

CHART 1
CONSONANT CHART

	Labial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
STOPS	vl. p		t		k	q
	vd. b		d		g	
FRICATIVES						
	vl.	f	s			h
NASALS						
	vd. m		n		ng	
LATERAL						
	vd.		l			
FLAP						
	vd.		r			
SEMI-VOWEL						
	vd. w			y		

ILOKANO REFERENCE GRAMMAR

The voiceless stops are unaspirated or very weakly aspirated in all their positions.

púso 'heart'
apóy 'fire'
atép 'roof'

The consonants *f*, *h*, and *q* do not occur as freely nor as frequently as the others. Except for the occurrence of *q* at the end of two prefixes, *agáq-* 'to smell like' and *pagáq-* 'to reach up to', all three consonants occur only in syllable-initial position.

The fricative *f* occurs only in a few words borrowed from Spanish in which it is usually replaced by *p*.

filipíno or *pilipíno* 'Filipino'
kafé or *kapé* 'coffee'

The fricative *h* also occurs in a few borrowed words.

hués 'judge'
kahón 'box'

One notable occurrence of *h* is in the negative *haan* (not a borrowed word) which varies dialectically with *saan*.

The glottal stop *q* occurs automatically before a word-initial vowel and between two adjacent vowels, except when the first vowel is *i* followed by a vowel other than itself, or *u* or *o* followed by *a*, *i*, or *e*. In the positions where its occurrence is automatic, the glottal stop *q* will not be represented in the ordinary transcription.

áso (phonetically [qá:so]) 'dog'
táo (phonetically [tá:qo]) 'person'

2.2. Vowels. Ilokano has five vowels: *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*. The vowel chart below shows the articulatory properties of the vowels.

CHART 2
VOWEL CHART

Front (unrounded)	Central (unrounded)	Back (rounded)
----------------------	------------------------	-------------------

PHONOLOGY

HIGH	i	u
MID	e	o
LOW		a

The vowel *o* varies freely with *u* in word-final syllables, except in some borrowed words. Also in some borrowed words, *o* occurs in positions other than word-final in free variation with *u*. In some words, *o* and *u* contrast in positions other than word-final position; i.e. *o* cannot be replaced by *u* without a resultant change in meaning.

póso 'pump well'
púso 'heart'
góma or *guma* 'rubber'

The vowels *i*, *u*, and *o* are nonsyllabic when they occur after a consonant and before another vowel in the case of *i*, and before *a*, *i*, or *e* in the case of *u* and *o*.

biág 'life'
duá 'two'
boá 'betel palm'

2.3. Long consonants. Each of the consonants, except *h* and *f*, may occur short or long. A long consonant will be represented in the ordinary transcription by a sequence of two identical consonant symbols, except the long glottal stop which will be represented by a hyphen.

<i>kapí</i> 'coffee' <i>ubíng</i> 'child' <i>itá</i> 'at this time' <i>báka</i> 'cow' <i>ibagák</i> 'I'll tell' <i>agaávak</i> [agaqa:rak] 'wine dealer' <i>asáwa</i> 'spouse' <i>laláki</i> 'man, male' <i>káro</i> 'excessive' <i>ináki</i> 'my mother' <i>amá</i> 'father' <i>súngo</i> 'lip, snout'	<i>kappí</i> 'a kind of crab' <i>ubbíng</i> 'children' <i>ittá</i> 'unhusked rice grain' <i>bakká</i> 'a kind of basin' <i>baggák</i> 'a bright star' [agáqqáarak] 'smelling like wine' <i>assáwa</i> 'spouses' <i>lalláki</i> 'men, males' <i>karró</i> 'car, carriage' <i>innák</i> 'I'll go' <i>ammá</i> 'fathers' <i>ungngó</i> 'kiss'
--	---

káwit 'hook'
tayák 'my bet'

kawwét 'cock's spur'
payyák 'wing'

2.4. Consonant clusters. In Ilokano, two consonants may form a cluster at the beginning of a syllable, especially in word-initial position. Almost all initial consonant clusters in Ilokano are found in borrowed words.

In the initial consonant clusters, only *s*, *l*, and *r* can occur as the second consonant and certain consonants occur before these to form clusters. If the second consonant is *s*, only *t* occurs as the first consonant.

tsá 'tea'
tsíp 'chief'

If the second consonant is *l*, any one of the labial and velar stops (i.e. *p*, *b*, *k*, *g*) occur as the first consonant.

pláno 'plan'
blúmer 'bloomer'
kláse 'class'
glória 'heaven'

If the second consonant is *r*, any one of the stops, except *q*, and *f* occur as the first consonant.

préso 'prison, prisoner'
brúha 'witch'
trák 'truck'
drám 'oil drum'
krús 'cross'
grádo 'grade'
fríto 'fry'

A few syllable-final consonant clusters consisting of two consonants also occur in Ilokano borrowed words. The most common of these clusters are *-ks*, *-ns*, and *-rt*.

ékstra 'extra'
ístrumento 'instrument'
bért 'Bert'

PHONOLOGY

2.5. Diphthongs. The rising diphthongs found in Ilokano are *ay*, *aw*, *uy*, *oy*, *ey*, and *iw*. The diphthongs *uy* and *oy* do not seem to appear in contrast with each other.

baláy 'house'
aldáw 'day'
bábuy 'pig'
tóy 'this'
deydiáy 'that'
mañliw 'homesick'

All the possible falling diphthongs, except *wu* and *wo*, are found in Ilokano.

yantá 'whereas'
waló 'eight'
iyiggém 'to hold on with'
bumáwi 'to take revenge'
yéro 'galvanized iron sheet'
wén 'yes'
iyúli 'to take up'
yó 'your, by you (pl.)'

2.6. Stress and vowel length. A syllable in Ilokano is either stressed or unstressed. In disyllabic words, either the penultimate or the final syllable is stressed. If a word has more than two syllables, the second syllable before a stressed syllable may also be stressed.

nabásak 'I was able to read (it)'
nabasák 'I was able to wet (it)'
agsásaó '(He) is talking'

The penultimate or antepenultimate stress is normally the loudest (marked by ') and the final stress the least loud (marked by '). Also, the stressed vowels, except those in word-final syllables, are normally long with those in open syllables longer than those in closed syllables.

lángit [lá:ngit] 'sky'
napíntas [napí:ntas] 'beautiful, pretty'
agráraép [agrá:raqép] '(He) is planting rice'
agláblabá [aglá:blabá] '(She) is washing clothes'

agpápaála [agpá:paqá:la] '(He) is asking (someone) to get (something)'

2.7. Pitch and intonation. The pitch of a normal Ilokano sentence or utterance generally stays on one level with only slight rises over stressed syllables. At the end of a sentence or utterance, the pitch may rise sharply after which it is cut off abruptly, as in *yes-or-no* and *echo questions*; or it may be cut off abruptly, without any appreciable rise or fall, as in ordinary statements. Within a sentence at phrase or clause breaks, and in hesitations, the pitch may be held or suspended momentarily at the same level. We shall call these three kinds of pitch terminals the *question intonation*, the *declarative intonation*, and the *suspensatory intonation*, respectively.

2.8. Orthography. The orthography to be adopted in the succeeding chapters will be based on the following conventions:

1) The consonants and vowels will be represented by the symbols listed above with only one exception. The glottal stop will not be represented by *q*, or by any other symbol, except when it occurs after a consonant and before a vowel where a hyphen (-) will be used to represent it. A long glottal stop will also be represented by a hyphen.

2) Vowel length and pitch will not be marked in the transcription.

3) Stress will be symbolized by an acute accent

4) The question intonation will be symbolized by a question mark (?), and the declarative intonation by a period (.). The question mark will also be used after interrogative sentences with a declarative intonation.

The suspensatory intonation will be symbolized by a comma (,) after a phrase or clause, and by three dots (...) after a hesitation.

5) The first letter of the first word of a sentence or utterance and that of a proper noun will be capitalized.

CHAPTER 3

PARTS OF SPEECH

3.0. Introduction. Our principal aim in this grammar of Ilokano is to present a simple and comprehensive description of the main grammatical features of the language. We propose to do this by examining specifically three groups of grammatical units: (a) the *parts of speech*, (b) the *phrases*, and (c) the *clauses* and *sentences*.

3.1. Parts of speech. The parts of speech may be broadly defined as the classes of the smallest syntactically relevant or syntactically functioning units. They are generally composed of *words* (the largest morphological units), though some are parts of, or bound to, words.

We set up eight parts of speech with the following designations: *Noun*, *Verb*, *Adjective*, *Adverb*, *Pronoun*, *Numeral*, *Marker*, and *Interjection*. The first three classes are the largest classes: they are open classes with (theoretically) infinite members. The rest of the classes are closed classes; i.e. their members can be listed exhaustively.

3.2. Definitions. Any member of a part of speech is *simple*, *compound* or *derived*. A simple member is monomorphemic, i.e. it is either a *root* or a *particle*. A compound member consists of two or (very rarely) more roots. A derived member consists of a stem and a *class-forming affix*. A stem consists of one or more roots with or without a *stem-forming affix* to which the class-forming affix is added.

The eight parts of speech are defined briefly as follows:

(a) A noun consists of any root or of a stem and a *nominalizing affix*.

baláy 'house'

panag-taráy 'act or manner of running'

(b) A verb consists typically of a stem and a *verbalizing affix*. A few verbs consist of a verb root alone.

ag-taráy 'to run'
kayát 'to want, like'

(c) An adjective consists of an adjective root or of a stem and an *adjectivizing affix*.

dakkél 'big, large'
na-píntas 'pretty, beautiful'

(d) An adverb is typically a particle. Some adverbs are bound or have bound allomorphs.

manén 'again'
-en 'already, now'

(e) A pronoun consists of a *pronoun root* with or without a *pronoun affix*. Some pronouns are bound.

tayó 'we including you'
da-tayó 'we including you'
-ak 'I'

(f) A numeral is a *numeral root* with or without a numeral affix.

duá 'two'
maika-duá 'second'

(g) A marker is typically a monosyllabic or disyllabic word. Some markers appear in portmanteaus. The markers are subdivided into several subclasses, such as articles, prepositions, etc.

ti 'the'
pára 'for'

(h) Interjections are typically particles.

annáy 'ouch'
áy 'oh'

3.3. Functions. The members of the parts of speech have *grammatical functions* and *semantic functions* in the sentence or phrase. They may function grammatically as *subject*, *predicate*, *modifier*, etc. Semantically, they may function as *actor*,

PARTS OF SPEECH

goal, beneficiary, etc. The various functions of the parts of speech are identified contextually in the succeeding chapters dealing with the sentences and other grammatical constructions.

3.4. Phrases. As we said earlier, the members of the parts of speech are words or parts of words. It seems appropriate and economical as well to extend the same part of speech classification to the phrases on the basis of their composition and functions. Thus, hereinafter, the term noun or noun phrase, verb or verb phrase, etc. will be used to stand for either or both terms in the disjuncts, except in cases where the context accepts only one interpretation.

CHAPTER 4

SENTENCE CLASSIFICATION

4.0. Introduction. The sentence is the largest grammatical unit treated in this grammar. We may define a sentence as an independent grammatical unit ending with a final intonation, which is either a declarative intonation or a question intonation. (Whenever necessary, we will call a sentence without its final intonation a *clause*.)

4.1. Kinds of sentences. There are three major kinds of sentences in Ilokano: (a) *simple*, (b) *complex*, and (c) *compound*. A simple sentence contains a simple clause, i.e. a clause which has only one subject and one predicate or only either one of these. A complex or compound sentence, on the other hand, consists of two or more clauses ending with a single final intonation.

4.2. Sentence parts. Most sentences in Ilokano have two principal parts or *immediate constituents*: the subject and the predicate. The subject is typically a noun phrase or a nominative pronoun. The predicate, on the other hand, is a noun, verb, adjective or preposition phrase.

There are some simple sentences which have only the subject or the predicate, but not both. We will call these sentences *nonpredicative sentences* to distinguish them from the *predicative sentences* which have the two principal sentence parts.

4.3. Sentence types. Based on the forms and positions of the subject and the predicate, the predicative sentences are subdivided into three major types: (a) *situational*, (b) *definite*, and (c) *indefinite*. These types of sentences are closely related in structure, but they express sharply contrasting meanings.

4.3.1. Situational sentences. In a situational sentence, the center of the predicate normally precedes the subject. The subject is a *marked expression*; i.e. it is either a noun phrase preceded by an *article* or a *nominative demonstrative*, or a *nom-*

inative pronoun. The predicate, on the other hand, is an unmarked expression; i.e. it is a phrase not preceded by an article or a demonstrative, and it may not be a nominative pronoun.

A situational sentence is used to express or state ordinary situations. Its meaning may be stated this way: 'The (subject) does or is (predicate).'

(1) *Agsángit diáy ubíng.* 'The child will cry.'

4.3.2. Definite sentences. The subject of a definite sentence, unlike that of a situational sentence, normally precedes the predicate. Also, both the subject and the predicate of the former are marked expressions.

Semantically, both the subject and the predicate of a definite sentence are definite or specific, with the subject identifying or being equated with the predicate. The meaning of a definite sentence may be expressed this way: 'It is the (subject) that does or is (predicate).'

(2) *Diáy ubíng ti agsángit.* 'It is the child who will cry.'

4.3.3. Indefinite sentences. An indefinite sentence is similar to a definite sentence in form, with the difference that the subject of the former is unmarked.

Semantically, the subject of an indefinite sentence is indefinite or nonspecific. It identifies a member or a class or genus with the predicate. The meaning of an indefinite sentence may be expressed this way: 'It is a (subject) that does or is (predicate).'

(3) *Ubíng ti agsángit.* 'It is a child who will cry.'

4.4. Sentence inversion. As we mentioned above, the normal order of the subject and the predicate in the situational sentence type is for the center of the predicate to precede the subject. In the definite and indefinite sentence types, the normal order has the subject before the predicate. The normal order of the immediate constituents of any of the three sentence types, especially of the first one, may be inverted, in which case either a pause (i.e. a suspensatory intonation) or the marker *ket* stands between the two constituents.

(4) *Diáy ubíng, agsángit.* 'The child will cry.'

(5) *Diáy ubíng ket agsángit.* 'The child will cry.'

4.5. Verbal and nonverbal sentences. The sentences of Ilokano may also be subdivided on the basis of the center of the predicate. We shall call those sentences in which the center of the predicate is a verb phrase *verbal sentences*; the others will be called *nonverbal sentences*. The following four chapters deal with these two kinds of sentences.

CHAPTER 5

VERBAL SENTENCES

5.0. Introduction. There are two types of verbal sentences: *noncausative* and *causative* (Chapter 8). These types of sentences are distinguished from each other by the use of a causative verb as the center of the predicate of the latter type. This chapter deals only with noncausative verbal sentences or simply verbal sentences, i.e. sentences in which the predicate verb is a noncausative verb.

Verbal sentences are simple, complex or compound (Chapter 9); predicative or nonpredicative; and situational, definite, or indefinite. We shall treat in this chapter mostly verbal sentences which are simple, situational, and predicative.

5.1. Verbal complements. The predicate verb of a verbal sentence may have only one complement, the *actor* which in such cases functions automatically as the subject of the sentence. Depending on its subclass, other verbal complements may also occur with the verb. The other verbal complements are the *goal*, *beneficiary*, *instrument*, *direction*, *associate* (or reciprocal actor), and *antecedent* (or cause).

A verbal complement may or may not be focused. A complement which is not in focus is manifested by a preposition and a noun or adjective phrase. The noun phrase is marked when the complement is definite and unmarked when it is indefinite. The adjective phrase complement is always unmarked and indefinite. When the complement is focused, the preposition of the complement phrase is dropped, i.e., the complement phrase is either unmarked or is marked by an article.

In a verbal sentence, any one of the verbal complements can be focused. This focused complement functions as the subject of the sentence.

A focused complement, i.e. the subject, is definite in situational and definite sentences, and indefinite in indefinite sentences. An unfocused complement, on the other hand, is either definite or indefinite, except for the unfocused actor which

seems to be always definite and the unfocused goal which seems to be always indefinite in situational sentences and in passive sentences in which it is not in focus.

The following is a description of the meanings of the verbal complements and their forms *when not in focus*.

5.1.1. Actor complement. Semantically, the actor complement is the direct performer of the action expressed by the verb. Formally, it consists of a marked noun phrase and a zero preposition.

(1) *Gatángen diáy ubíng diáy manggá.* 'The child will buy the mango.'

5.1.2. Goal complement. The goal complement refers to the person or thing directly affected by the action expressed by the verb. It is formally manifested by an *oblique phrase*. An oblique phrase consists of an *oblique preposition* and a noun phrase. The oblique prepositions are *ti* or *iti* before an unmarked noun phrase or a *long demonstrative*, *i-* or zero before a *short demonstrative*, *ka-* before a long demonstrative or *da* 'plural proper article', and *ken* before *ni* 'singular proper article' or a proper name without its article.

(2) *Gumátang ití manggá diáy ubíng.* 'The child will buy a mango.'

(3) *Diáy ubíng ti gumátang kadeydiáy manggá.* 'It is the child who will buy the mango.'

(4) *Isú ti nakakíta ken Maryá.* 'It was he who saw Mary.'

(5) *Isú ti nakakíta ken ni Maryá.* 'It was he who saw Mary.'

(6) *Isú ti nakakíta kadá Maryá.* 'It was he who saw Mary and her companions.'

We shall call an oblique phrase with a marked noun phrase a definite oblique phrase and that with an unmarked noun an indefinite oblique phrase. A definite oblique phrase manifests a *definite* complement and an oblique phrase an *indefinite* complement.

5.1.3. Beneficiary complement. The beneficiary complement refers to the person or thing that receives the benefit of the action expressed by the verb. It is manifested by the preposition *para* 'for' followed by a definite or indefinite oblique phrase.

(7) *Gatángen diáy ubíng diáy manggá pára ití balásang.* 'The child will buy the mango for a lady.'

(8) *Gatángen diáy ubíng diáy manggá pára kadeydiáy balásang.* 'The child will buy the mango for the lady.'

5.1.4. Instrument complement. The instrument complement refers to the thing with which the action expressed by the verb is effected. It is manifested by a definite or indefinite oblique phrase optionally preceded by the preposition *babaén* 'by means of'.

(9) *Pinúted na diáy kawáyan babaén ití bunéng ko.* 'He cut the bamboo with my big knife.'

5.1.5. Direction complement. The direction complement refers to the person or thing toward which the action is directed, or from whom or which the action originates. Like the goal complement, it is manifested by a definite or indefinite oblique phrase.

(10) *Napán diáy ubíng idiáy íli.* 'The child went to town.'

5.1.6. Associate complement. The associate complement refers to the person who participates with the actor in performing the action expressed by the verb. It is manifested by a definite or indefinite oblique phrase just like the goal and direction complements.

(11) *Makisaó diáy baró idiáy balásang.* 'The bachelor will talk to the lady.'

5.1.7. Antecedent complement. The antecedent complement expresses the cause, reason, or antecedent of the action expressed by the verb. It is manifested by a definite or indefinite oblique phrase preceded optionally by *gapo* 'because of, due to'.

(12) *Nagsángit diáy ubíng gapó ití bisín.* 'The child cried because of hunger.'

Any verb or adjective may occur as a complement when it *substitutes* for the noun phrase complement in which it is the modifier.

(13) *Nangán ití adú diáy ráwet.* 'The glutton ate much.'

(14) *Nagná ití adayó diáy ubíng.* 'The child walked a long distance.'

5.2. Verb subclasses, A verb in Ilokano consists typically of a stem and a verbalizing affix. On the basis of the complements which occur with them, the verbs are subdivided into the following subclasses: (a) intransitive, (b) transitive, and (c) reciprocal.

5.2.1. Intransitive verbs. An intransitive verb cannot take a goal complement. A beneficiary of antecedent complement may occur with it.

(15) *Pumíntas kánto met láeng.* 'You will still become beautiful.'

With some intransitive verbs, which we call *directional intransitive verbs*, a directional complement and/or a locative phrase may occur with the actor complement.

(16) *Umúli ka idiáy baláy.* 'Go up to the house.'

5.2.2. Transitive verbs. A transitive verb requires the occurrence of a goal complement.

(17) *Mangán ti manggá diáy ubíng.* 'The child will eat a mango.'

A directional complement, a beneficiary complement, and an instrument complement may also occur separately or together.

(18) *Gumátang diáy ubíng ti manggá idiáy íli pára kadeydiáy balásang.* 'The child will buy a mango in town for the lady.'

Some transitive verbs require in addition to a goal complement a direction complement; we will call these verbs *directional transitive verbs*. The stems (or affixes) of these verbs have the affix *i-* when the actor or goal is in focus.

(19) *Isublí na deytóy idiáy bakét.* 'He will return this to the old woman.'

5.2.3. Reciprocal verbs. Reciprocal verbs require or imply the occurrence of an accessory (or reciprocal actor) complement.

(20) *Nakitungtúng diáy baró kadeydiáy balásang.* 'The bachelor conversed with the lady.'

A goal complement may occur with some reciprocal verbs; we will call these verbs *transitive reciprocal verbs*.

(21) *Nakisála diáy baró ití tánggo kadeydiáy balásang.* 'The bachelor danced the tango with the lady.'

5.3. Order of the complements. In situational sentences, the actor complement normally occurs immediately after the verb. If the verb is intransitive, a beneficiary or antecedent complement may occur following the actor. If the verb is a directional intransitive verb, a directional complement may occur immediately after the actor.

If the verb is transitive, the goal complement follows the actor; in active situational sentences it may precede the actor. The beneficiary and instrument complements normally follow the goal or actor in this order. If the verb is a directional transitive verb, a directional complement occurs immediately after the goal.

The accessory complement of a reciprocal verb occurs after the actor. The goal of a transitive reciprocal verb immediately follows the actor.

In definite and indefinite sentences, and in inverted situational sentences, the complement which functions as the subject of the sentence is moved to the beginning of the sentence.

(22) *Siák ti agáwid.* 'I am the one who will go home.'

(23) *Ubíng ti nagsángit.* 'It was a child who cried.'

(24) *Diáy áso ket nagtaúl.* 'The dog barked.'

5.4. Active sentences. Based on the verb of the predicate, the verbal sentences are subdivided into *active* and *passive*. The predicate verb of an active sentence is an *active verb* and that of a passive sentence a *passive verb*.

An active verb consists minimally of a stem and an active (verbalizing) affix. The active affixes are *-um-* 'casual', *ag-* 'non-casual', *ma-* 'stative', *m-* 'casual', *maka-* 'aptative or potential', *maki-* 'reciprocal or associative', *mang-* 'deliberative', and *aging-* *R₂ 'pretentive.'

An actor complement occurs obligatorily with an active verb; this complement functions as the subject of the sentence. An active sentence expresses the direct performance of an action by an explicit actor.

Active intransitive and transitive verbs may use any of the active affixes, except *maki-* which is used exclusively by active reciprocal verbs. The deliberative affix *mang-* is rarely used to form intransitive verbs, but is very often used to form transitive verbs.

5.5. Dual and plural subjects. If the affix *maki-* of a reciprocal verb is replaced by the affix *ag-*, the accessory and actor complements together function as the *dual subject* of the sentence. (A dual subject consists of two (singular) members of two different complements.)

(25) *Nagtungtúng diáy baró ken balásang.* 'The bachelor and the lady conversed with each other.'

An active transitive verb with the affix *ag-* and the reciprocal verbal affix *-inn-* or *-inn--an* requires a dual subject consisting of two singular complements that are simultaneously the actor and goal of the action expressed by the verb.

(26) *Nagkinníta diáy baró ken balásang.* 'The bachelor and the lady looked at each other.'

The *reduplicative pluralizer* CV- may occur with a verb with the affix *ag-*; the resultant verb form requires a *plural subject*. A plural subject consists of two or more members of one complement, or of three or more members of two different complements.

(27) *Nagtataráy dagití ubbíng.* 'The children ran away.'

5.6. Passive sentences. The verb of the predicate of a passive sentence is a *passive verb*. A passive verb consists minimally of a stem and a *passive* (verbalizing) affix. The passive affixes are: (a) the goal-focus *-en* and *-an*, (b) the direction-focus *-an*, (c) benefactive-focus *i-an*, (d) the instrumental-focus *pag-* and *pang-*, (e) the accessory-focus *ka-*, and (f) the antecedent focus *i-*, and *pag-an*. The passive potential affix *ma-* may be used with each of the passive affixes.

The subject of a passive sentence is one of the verbal complements except the actor complement. Based on its subject, a passive sentence may be classified as (a) goal-focus, (b) direction-focus, (c) beneficiary-focus, (d) direction-focus, (e) accessory-focus, or (f) antecedent focus.

VERBAL SENTENCES

5.6.1. Goal-focus sentences. The subject of a goal-focus sentence is the goal complement of its verb. The goal-focus affix *-en* or *-an* is used to form the goal-focus verb. Some verb stems occur with *-en*, others with *-an*.

(28) *Basáen na ta libró* 'He will read that book.'

(29) *Pukísan na ta ubíng*. 'He will give that child a haircut.'

If the verb stem has the directional affix *i-*, the goal-focus affix *-en* is dropped. The goal-focus *-en* is also dropped when it occurs with the potential affix *ma-*.

(30) *Isublí na talibró idiáy títser*. 'He will return that book to the teacher.'

(31) *Mabása na intón bigát ta libró nga itá*. 'He can read that book tomorrow.'

5.6.2. Direction-focus sentences. The direction complement of the verb functions as the subject of a direction-focus sentence. The direction-focus affix *-an* is used to form the direction-focus verb.

(32) *Dawátan na ti kuárta diáy pádi*. 'He asked for money from the priest.'

5.6.3. Beneficiary-focus sentences. The subject of a beneficiary-focus sentence is the beneficiary complement of its verb. The affix *i-an* is used to form the beneficiary-focus verb.

(33) *Igatángan na ti manggá diáy balásang*. 'He will buy a mango for the lady.'

5.6.4. Instrument-focus sentences. The subject of an instrument-focus sentence is the instrument complement of its verb. The affix *pag-* or *pang-* is used to form the instrument-focus verb.

(34) *Pagpúted na ti kawáyan diáy bunéng ko*. 'He will use my big knife to cut bamboo.'

5.6.5. Accessory-focus sentences. The subject of an accessory-focus sentence is the accessory complement of its verb. The affix *ka-* is used to form the accessory-focus verb.

(35) *Kinatungtúng na diáy balásang*. 'He conversed with the lady.'

5.6.6. Antecedent-focus sentences. The antecedent complement functions as the subject of an antecedent-focus sentence. The antecedent-focus affix *i-*, or *pag-an*, is used to form the antecedent-focus verb. Some stems occur with *i-*, others with *pag-an*.

(36) *Malárya ti ipatáy daytá ubíng.* 'Malaria will be the cause of the death of that child.'

5.7. Ergative sentences. An ergative sentence is a verbal sentence in which the predicate verb is an ergative verb. An ergative verb is one which has a passive affix but has no explicit actor complement. The actor may be implied by the verb. The subject of an ergative sentence is the goal complement of the verb.

The affixes used to form ergative verbs are *-en* and *-an*: the latter affix always occurs with the passive potential affix *ma-*. The affix *-en* may occur with *ma-* or *mai-*.

(37) *Án-anáyen daytá adígi.* 'That post is being eaten by termites.'

(38) *Matuduán daytá ubíng.* 'That child will be wet by the rain.'

(39) *Malungsót daytá manggá.* 'That mango will spoil.'

(40) *Maipattúg daytá danúm.* 'That water will be spilled.'

Ergative verbs express actions that happen by chance or due to natural causes.

5.8. Impersonal sentences. An impersonal sentence is a verbal sentence in which the predicate verb is an impersonal verb. An impersonal verb is one which does not have an actor complement. It is almost always active in form, and is therefore almost always nonpredicative.

There are three kinds of impersonal verbs: (a) the meteorological, (b) the temporal, and (c) the descriptive-impersonal. The impersonal sentences are classified similarly on the basis of the predicate verb.

5.8.1. Meteorological sentences. The predicate verb of a meteorological sentence is a meteorological verb. An active meteorological verb consists of a noun root and the active affix *ag-*. The noun root denotes a meteorological phenomenon or another

natural phenomenon. A meteorological sentence states the occurrence of a meteorological phenomenon or another natural phenomenon.

The active meteorological verb *agtúdo* 'to rain' may take a goal complement. When this goal complement functions as the subject of the sentence, a *dummy actor* expressed by *na* occurs with the passive verb.

(41) *Agtúdo manén.* 'It will rain again.'

(42) *Nagtúdo ti yélo idí kalmán.* 'It rained ice pellets yesterday.'

(43) *Yélo ti intúdo na idí kalmán.* 'It rained ice pellets yesterday.'

5.8.2. Temporal sentences. A temporal sentence is an impersonal sentence with a temporal verb as the center of its predicate. The verb is always active in form. It is formed by temporal noun and the active affix *-um-*. The noun stem denotes a period of the day.

(44) *Rumabíí manén.* 'Night is falling again.'

5.8.3. Descriptive-impersonal sentences. A descriptive-impersonal sentence has a descriptive-impersonal verb as the center of its predicate. The verb is always active in form. It is formed by an adjective root and the active affix *-um-*. The adjective root describes a condition pertaining to the weather or to the light.

(45) *Sumipngéten.* 'It is getting dark now.'

5.9. Adverb-focus sentences. A verbal sentence may be modified by either one or both of the following adverbial phrases: (a) temporal phrase, and (b) locative phrase. These phrases frequently occur at the end of the sentence in the order given above.

A temporal phrase consists of the preposition *iti* or *ti* followed by a *temporal noun*, or of a *temporal* adverb followed by a place noun, or of a *locative demonstrative* followed optionally by a place noun.

(46) *Nagsángit díáy ubíng idí kalmán.* 'The child cried yesterday.'

(47) *Nagsángit díáy ubíng idiáy baláy mi.* 'The child cried in our house.'

Either one of the preceding adverbial phrases may be focused and become the subject of the resultant *adverb-focus sentence*. The focused adverbial phrase occurs at the beginning of the adverb-focus sentence, and the sentence modified by the adverbial phrase undergoes some structural changes. If the temporal phrase is focused, the verb of the modified sentence is “nominalized” by replacing its affix by a *nominalizing verb affix*. The complements of the nominalized verb are all unfocused, and the nominalized verb phrase is preceded by the article *ti*.

(48) *Idí kalmán ti panagsángit díáy ubíng.* ‘It was yesterday when the child cried.’

If the locative phrase is focused, the affix of the verb of the sentence is replaced by a *nominalizing locative affix*. The complements of the nominalized verb are all unfocused and the nominalized verb phrase is preceded by the article *ti*.

(49) *Idiáy baláy mi ti nagsangítan díáy ubíng.* ‘It was in our house where the child cried.’

We will consider adverb-focus sentences as definite sentences.

CHAPTER 6

NONVERBAL SENTENCES

6.0. Introduction. A nonverbal sentence is one whose predicate is a noun, adjective, numeral, or prepositional phrase; its subject is a noun phrase. (We shall call the noun phrase which functions as the subject of a nonverbal sentence a *topic complement*.)

Like verbal sentences, nonverbal sentences are simple, compound, or complex; predicative or nonpredicative; and situational, definite, or indefinite. In this chapter, we shall deal mostly with nonverbal sentences which are simple and situational.

Based on the center of the predicate, the nonverbal sentences are subdivided into the following: (a) nominal, (b) adjectival, (c) quantitative and (d) prepositional.

6.1. Nominal sentences. The subject and the predicate of a nominal sentence are both noun phrases. Either or both may be marked depending on the sentence type.

A personal name may occur as the center of the predicate only when the subject is a full nominative personal pronoun or a long demonstrative pronoun. An enclitic nominative pronoun may occur as the predicate only when the subject is a proper name or a long demonstrative pronoun. A long demonstrative pronoun may occur as the predicate only when the subject is a personal name or a full nominative personal pronoun.

- (1) *Siák ni Pédro*. 'I am Peter.'
- (2) *Ni Pédro ka*. 'You are Peter.'
- (3) *Deytoy-ak*. 'I am this.'
- (4) *Siák deytóy*. 'I am this.'

6.2. Topicless nominal sentences. Some nominal sentences consist of a temporal noun without a predicate. The temporal noun always has a temporal modifier following it.

- (5) *Rabiín*. 'It's night time now.'

6.3. Adjectival sentences. The center of the predicate of an adjectival sentence is an adjective. The adjectival sentences may be subdivided into two subclasses: (a) *descriptive*, and (b) *manner*.

The predicate adjective of a descriptive sentence is a descriptive adjective and the subject is a simple noun phrase.

(6) *Naánus diáy bakét.* 'The old woman is kind.'

The predicate adjective of a manner sentence is a manner adjective and the subject is a nominalized verbal sentence.

(7) *Kanáyon ti panagtaráy na.* 'He runs all the time.'

A few descriptive adjectives, like *narígat* 'difficult, hard' and *nalaká* 'easy', may occur with a subject consisting of an actorless active verb phrase or of a situational nonverbal sentence whose subject noun is followed by the possessive pronoun *na*. The subject of the whole sentence is always preceded by the article *ti*.

(8) *Narígat ti matáy.* 'It is difficult to die.'

(9) *Narígat ti sadút ti anák na.* 'It is difficult to have a lazy child.'

6.4. Topicless adjectival sentences. Some adjectival sentences consist of an adjective without a subject. The adjective denotes a condition pertaining to the weather or to illumination and always has a temporal or locative modifier.

(10) *Nalamíis ditóy.* 'It is cool here.'

6.5. Quantitative sentences. The center of the predicate of a quantitative sentence is either a numeral or a price term. A possessive phrase or a locative phrase usually occurs after the subject of a numeral quantitative sentence.

(11) *Talló ti táo idiáy baláy.* 'There are three persons in the house.'

(12) *Sagsisingko dagitá sabá.* 'These bananas are five centavos each.'

6.6. Prepositional sentences. The predicate of a prepositional sentence consists of any of the prepositions *para* 'for', *maipanggep* 'about, concerning', *agingga* 'until', etc. and an oblique phrase.

NONVERBAL SENTENCES

(13) *Pára kadeydiáy balásang ta sábong.* 'That flower is for the lady.'

CHAPTER 7

OTHER SIMPLE SENTENCES

7.0. Introduction. The sentences described in this chapter are the existential, the exclamatory, the completive, and the transformed possessive.

7.1. Existential sentences. An existential sentence consists of the existential particle *addá* or the non-existential particle *awán* followed obligatorily by a noun phrase and optionally by a locative phrase. The noun phrase is either marked or unmarked. The unmarked noun phrase is preceded by *ti* optionally after *addá* or *awán*. This noun phrase is an unfocused goal complement. The sentence is thus nonpredicative.

(1) *Addá táo idiáy baláy.* 'There is someone in the house.'

(2) *Addá ti táo idiáy baláy.* 'There is someone in the house.'

(3) *Awán táo idiáy baláy.* 'There is no one in the house.'

(4) *Awán ti táo idiáy baláy.* 'There is no one in the house.'

The marked noun phrase occurs normally after the locative phrase, and is a focused goal complement, i.e. it is the subject of the sentence.

(5) *Addá idiáy baláy diáy ubíng.* 'The child is in the house.'

The marked or unmarked noun phrase may be placed at the beginning of the sentence and the rest of the sentence (the predicate) preceded by a predicate marker. The noun phrase functions as the subject of the resultant sentence which is formally a definite or indefinite sentence.

(6) *Diáy ubíng ti addá idiáy baláy.* 'It is the child who is in the house.'

(7) *Ubíng ti addá idiáy baláy.* 'It is a child who is in the house.'

OTHER SIMPLE SENTENCES

The existential and non-existential particle may also occur as the subject of an indefinite sentence.

(8) *Awán ti ginátang ko idiáy ili.* 'I did not buy anything in town.'

7.2. Exclamatory sentences. Exclamatory sentences consist of interjections. Some of them express strong feelings or emotions; others are used to summon, call attention, greet, warn, cajole, curse, or frighten someone or something.

(9) *Annáy!* 'Ouch!'

(10) *Áy!* 'Oh!'

7.3. Completive sentences. Completive sentences are mostly answers to suppletive questions. As most suppletive questions are formally either definite or indefinite sentences, completive sentences are the subjects of definite and indefinite sentences.

(11) *Sinnó ti nakítam?* 'Whom did you see?'

(12) *Ni Pédro.* 'Peter.'

(13) *Aná ti gatángem?* 'What will you buy?'

(14) *Asín.* 'Salt.'

The question in which the predicate verb is *aramíden* 'do' or *kuaen* 'do' may be answered by a completive sentence consisting of only a verb phrase. This verb phrase is formally a subject and its predicate may be overtly expressed.

(15) *Aná ti ár-aramíden na?* 'What is he doing?'

(16) *Agdígdígos.* 'He is taking a bath.'

7.4. Transformed possessive sentences. A transformed possessive sentence is a sentence which is derived from a situational sentence in which the subject noun is modified (or possessed) by a *noun possessor*. The noun possessor is a marked noun phrase which occurs immediately after the *possessed noun*. The possessor is placed at the beginning of the sentence and the rest of the sentence is preceded by a predicate marker; in addition to this, the possessive *na* is placed in the former position of the possessor. The resultant sentence is formally a definite sentence.

(17) *Diáy balásang ti napíntas ti baláy na.* 'The lady is the one whose house is beautiful.'

The article of the subject (common noun) possessor may be dropped to form the indefinite transformed possessive sentence.

(18) *Balásang ti napíntas ti baláy na.* 'It is a lady whose house is beautiful.'

(19) *Kaaduén na ti mangán.* 'He will eat much.'

(20) *Sapáen na ti umáy ditóy.* 'He will come here early.'

(21) *Partákan na ti magná.* 'He will walk fast.'

7.5. Passivized adjectival sentences. There are goal-focus sentences in Ilokano which we may call *passivized adjectival sentences*. The verb of the predicate of these sentences is formed by an adjective root and the verbalizing affix *-en*, *ka-en* or *-an*. Some adjective roots take *-en*, others *-an*; also some adjective roots take *ka-*. The subject of the sentence which is preceded by *ti* is an actorless active verb phrase.

Passivized adjectival sentences are structurally related to verbal situational sentences whose predicate verb is modified by an adjective.

7.6. Passivized numeral sentences. There are some goal-focus sentences in Ilokano which we may call *passivized numeral sentences*. The predicate verb of these sentences is formed by a numeral root with the affix *pi-* or *pin-* and the verbalizing affix *-en*. Numeral verbs beginning with *t* or *d* take *pi-*, the others take *pin-*. The numeral *tallo* 'three' becomes *-tlo* after *pi-*.

The subject of a passivized numeral sentence is an actorless verb phrase preceded by *ti*, or an actorless passive verb phrase preceded by *nga*.

(22) *Piduáen na ti mangán.* 'He will eat twice.'

(23) *Pitlóen na nga digúsen diáy ubíng.* 'He will bathe the child three times.'

Passivized numeral sentences are structurally related to situational sentences whose verb is modified by a numeral.

(24) *Naminduá da nga nangán.* 'They ate twice.'

(25) *Piniduá da ti nangán.* 'They ate twice.'

CHAPTER 8

CAUSATIVE SENTENCES

8.0. Introduction. A causative verbal sentence, or simply a causative sentence, is a type of verbal sentence in which the verb of the predicate is a causative verb. A causative verb consists minimally of a verbalizing affix and a causative stem. A causative stem is formed by adding one or two causative affixes to a noncausative stem. Thus, a causative verb differs from a noncausative verb by the presence of one or two causative affixes in the stem of the former. A noncausative verb underlies a causative verb, and a noncausative sentence a causative sentence.

We will use the term *simple causative* to refer to a verb with one causative affix, or to a sentence with a simple causative verb; and the term *double causative* to a verb with two causative affixes, or to a sentence with a double causative verb. The double causative verb or sentence is very rarely used.

Like noncausative verbal sentences, causative verbal sentences are simple, complex, or compound; and situational, definite, or indefinite. All causative sentences, except the passive impersonal, are predicative.

This chapter will deal mostly with simple situational causative sentences.

8.1. Complements. A distinguishing characteristic of causative sentences is the addition of one or two causative actors to the complements of noncausative sentences. A simple causative sentence adds one causative actor, the *primary causative actor*, that causes the actor of the underlying noncausative verb to do the action expressed by the underlying verb. A double causative sentence adds two causative actors, the primary causative actor and the *secondary causative actor*. The primary causative actor causes the secondary causative actor to cause the noncausative actor to do the action expressed by the underlying verb. The noncausative actor is usually not expressed when the underlying verb is transitive.

Any one of the complements of a causative sentence, including the causative actors, may function as the subject of the sentence. In nonsubject positions, each of the complements, except the actor complements, is manifested in the same way it is manifested in noncausative sentences.

The unfocused primary causative actor is manifested like the unfocused actor of a noncausative sentence. The unfocused secondary causative actor, on the other hand, is manifested like the unfocused definite goal of a noncausative sentence, i.e. it is manifested by a definite oblique phrase.

(1) *Nagpataráy díáy laláki ití ubíng.* 'The man caused a child to run.'

The unfocused noncausative actor of a causative sentence is manifested like the definite or indefinite goal of a noncausative sentence.

(2) *Nagpapataráy díáy laláki ití ubíng idiáy lakáy.* 'The boy caused an old man to cause a child to run.'

8.2. Causative affixes. The causative affixes are *pag-* and *pa-*. In simple causative sentences, *pag-* is used instead of *pa-* only when the underlying noncausative verb uses *ag-* and when the verbalizing affix of the causative verb is *-en* with or without *ma-*.

(3) *Pagsaláen na díáy balásang.* 'He will cause the lady to dance.'

(4) *Paulién na díáy balásang.* 'He will cause the lady to come up.'

In double causative sentences, only the sequences *pagpa-* and *papa-* are used. The sequence *pagpa-* is used only and always when the verbalizing affix is *-en* with or without the potential affix *ma-*. The sequence *papa-* may be used with any verbalizing affix.

(5) *Pagpagatángen na díáy laláki ití asín.* 'He will cause the man to cause (someone) to buy salt.'

(6) *Ipapagátang na díáy asín idiáy laláki.* 'He will cause the man to have the salt bought (by someone).'

CAUSATIVE SENTENCES

8.3. Causative sentence subclasses. Based on the subclass of the underlying noncausative verbs, the causative verbs are subdivided into (a) intransitive, (b) transitive, and (c) impersonal. The causative sentences are similarly subdivided on the basis of the predicate verb.

8.3.1. Intransitive causative sentences. The predicate verb of an intransitive causative sentence is an intransitive causative verb. The underlying verb of an intransitive causative verb is an intransitive verb.

In simple intransitive causative sentences, either the primary causative actor or the noncausative actor functions as the subject of the sentence. The noncausative actor is the goal complement of the simple intransitive causative verb. Thus, the sentence is active when the primary causative actor is in focus and goal-focus when the noncausative actor is in focus.

(7) *Agpatúrog diáy balásang ití ubíng.* 'The lady will put a child to sleep.'

(8) *Paturógen diáy balásang diáy ubíng.* 'The lady will put the child to sleep.'

The simple intransitive causative verb uses an active verbalizing affix, except *maki-*, when the primary causative actor functions as the subject. When the noncausative actor, functions as the subject the verb uses the affix *-en*.

In double intransitive causative sentences, any one of the three actors may function as the subject of the sentence. The secondary causative actor is the goal of the double causative verb and it is always a definite goal. The sentence is active when the primary causative actor functions as the subject and goal-focus when the noncausative actor or the secondary causative actor functions as the subject.

(9) *Agpapatúrog diáy bakét ití ubíng idiáy balásang.* 'The old woman will make the lady put a child to sleep.'

(10) *Ipapatúrog diáy bakét diáy ubíng idiáy balásang.* 'The old woman will make the lady put the child to sleep.'

(11) *Pagpaturógen diáy bakét diáy balásang ití ubíng.* 'The old woman will make the lady put a child to sleep.'

The double intransitive causative verb uses an active affix, except *maki-*, when the primary causative actor functions as the subject of the sentence. When the secondary causative actor is in focus, the verb uses the affix *-en*. When the noncausative actor is in focus, the verb uses the affix *i-*. The last-mentioned affix is not the same as the directional affix *i-* which occurs (when it does) after the causative affix.

8.3.2. Transitive causative sentences. In simple transitive causative sentences, any one of the complements may function as the subject of the sentence. The noncausative actor is the goal of the causative verb.

The simple causative verb uses an active affix, except *maki-*, when the primary causative actor functions as the subject. When the noncausative actor functions as the subject, the causative verb uses the affix *-en* if its underlying verb uses *-en*; and *-an* if its underlying verb uses *-an*. When the goal of the underlying verb is the subject, the verb uses the affix *i-*.

(12) *Nagpalúto diáy bakét ití innapóy idiáy balásang.* 'The old woman made the lady cook rice.'

(13) *Paglutoén diáy bakét diáy balásang ití innapóy.* 'The old woman will make the lady cook rice.'

(14) *Ipalúto diáy bakét diáy innapóy idiáy balásang.* 'The old woman will cause the rice to be cooked by the lady.'

When any one of the direction, beneficiary, and instrument complements is in focus, the verb uses the affixes *-an*, *i-an*, and *pag-* or *pang-*, respectively.

(15) *Pagatángen na diáy ubíng ití asín.* 'He will make the child buy salt.'

(16) *Ipagatángen na diáy bakét ití asín.* 'He will have salt bought for the old woman.'

(17) *Pagpapúted na diáy bunéng ko ití kawáyan.* 'He will have my big knife be used in cutting bamboo.'

In double transitive causative sentences, the noncausative actor is dropped. Either of the two causative actors may function as the subject of the sentence. The secondary causative actor is the goal of the double causative verb. Thus, the sen-

CAUSATIVE SENTENCES

tence is active when the primary causative actor functions as the subject and goal-focus when the other causative actor functions as the subject.

(18) *Agpapagátang diáy bakét ití asín idiáy ubíng.*

'The old woman will make the child buy salt.'

(19) *Pagpagatángen diáy bakét diáy balásang ití asín.* 'The old woman will make the lady make the child to buy salt.'

Any of the other complements may be focused, with the double causative verb using the same affixes used by the simple causative verb.

8.3.3. Impersonal causative sentences. The underlying sentences of impersonal causative sentences are meteorological sentences. The verb of impersonal causative sentences can have only one causative affix.

(20) *Diáy pádi ti agpatúdo intón bigát.* 'It is the priest who will make it rain tomorrow.'

(21) *Pagtudoén to diáy pádi intón bigát.* 'The priest will make it rain tomorrow.'

An impersonal causative sentence is either a definite active sentence or a nonpredicative sentence. In a definite active sentence, the primary actor functions as the subject and the verb uses the affix *ag-*. In a nonpredicative sentence, the verb uses the passive affix *-en*.

CHAPTER 9

COMPLEX AND COMPOUND SENTENCES

9.1. Complex sentences. A complex sentence is structurally a simple sentence except that one or more of its complements, or its predicate, is a clause. We identify here four types of complex sentences which are labeled as follows: (a) simple complex, (b) verbal complex, (c) adjectival complex, and (d) nominal complex.

9.1.1. Simple complex sentences. A simple complex sentence is any sentence any of whose complements, including the one that functions as the subject, is a *noun clause*.

(1) *Natáy díáy ubíng nga napaltúgan.* 'The child who was shot died.'

9.1.2. Verbal complex sentences. A verbal complex sentence is one whose predicate verb is a transitive verb which takes a clause as its goal complement. The embedded clause is preceded by *nga* with verbs like *bagá* 'say'. With some verbs, the actor of the embedded clause precedes *nga*.

(2) *Imbagá na nga mabisín ka.* 'He said that you are hungry.'

(3) *Baonén na díáy balásang nga agdígos.* 'He will order the lady to take a bath.'

The embedded clause may be a direct quotation in which case it occurs at the beginning of the sentence.

(4) *Umáy ka ditóy, kuná na.* "'Come here," he said.'

If the embedded clause functions as the subject of the sentence in the indefinite form, *nga* is dropped and the embedded clause occurs after the predicate preceded by *ket* or a pause.

(5) *Ti imbagá na, mabisín ka.* 'What he said was that you are hungry.'

COMPLEX AND COMPOUND SENTENCES

9.1.3. Adjectival complex sentences. An adjectival complex sentence is one whose predicate is an adjective and whose subject or topic complement is a clause preceded by *ta* or *nga*. Some adjectives, like *nasayáat* 'good', occur with *ta*; others, like *mabalín* 'possible', occur with *nga*.

(6) *Nasayáat ta addá ka.* 'It is good that you are here.'

(7) *Mabalín nga maturógak idiáy.* 'It is possible that I am going to sleep there.'

9.1.4. Nominal complex sentences. A nominal complex sentence occurs very infrequently. It consists of an abstract noun as the subject and a clause as the predicate. The abstract noun is preceded by *ti* and is usually possessed. This sentence is derivable from (or is a transform of) a verbal sentence whose passive verb is transformed into an abstract noun.

(8) *Ti dámag ko ket duá ti anák mon.* 'I heard that you have two children now.'

(9) *Ti bílin na ket daytáy.* 'This is his request.'

9.2. Compound sentences. The principal parts or immediate constituents of a compound sentence are two clauses joined together by a conjunction. If the conjunction is a *coordinating conjunction* like *ken* 'and', the two clauses are coordinate or of equal rank and the sentence is a *coordinate* or *serial construction*. If the conjunction is a *subordinating conjunction* like *no* 'if', the clause following the conjunction modifies the other clause; the sentence is thus an *attributive construction*. We will use the term *subordinate clause* for the modifying clause and the term *main* or *principal clause* for the modified clause.

(10) *Nagtúdo ken nagbagyó.* 'It rained and stormed.'

(11) *Mangán ka no mabisín ka.* 'Eat if you are hungry.'

CHAPTER 10

NEGATIVE, INTERROGATIVE AND OTHER MODAL SENTENCES

10.1. Negative sentences. Negation in Ilokano is expressed by the simple negator *saán*, the desiderative negator *madí*, and the non-existential *awán*. The non-existential *awán* is treated in Chapter 7. The desiderative *madí* is treated in section 10.3.2. of this chapter.

The simple negator *saán*, which has variants *haán* and *dí*, may negate a noun, the predicate of any sentence, or the predicate of a definite or indefinite sentence. It occurs before the noun, before the center of the predicate, or before the marked subject followed by *nga*. If *saán* negates a predicate, the enclitics present in the predicate are transferred to the position immediately after *saán*.

(1) *Isú ti saán nga abugádo.* 'He is the one who is not a lawyer.'

(2) *Saán nga napíntas díáy baláy mo.* 'Your house is not beautiful.'

(3) *Saán nga díáy baláy mo ti napíntas.* 'It is not your house which is beautiful.'

(4) *Saán ka nga napíntas.* 'You are not beautiful.'

10.2. Interrogative sentences. There are two types of interrogative sentences in Ilokano: (a) the *yes-or-no question*, and (b) the *echo question*.

10.2.1. Yes-or-no questions. There are three kinds of yes-or-no questions: (a) the *simple yes-or-no question*, (b) the *tag question*, and (c) the *suppletive question*.

A simple yes-or-no question is formed by adding *kadí* (or *ayá*) after the center of the first immediate constituent of a declarative sentence.

(5) *Napintas kadi diay balasang?* 'Is the lady beautiful?'

A tag question is formed by adding *saán kadí* or *saán* only at the end of a declarative sentence. A pause or suspensatory intonation is used at the end of the embedded declarative sentence and a rising or question intonation at *saán* or *saán kadí*. A tag question is used to elicit an answer confirming or denying the information given in the embedded declarative sentence.

(6) *Napintas diáy balásang, saán kadí?* 'The lady is beautiful, isn't she?'

An echo question is formed by simply replacing the declarative intonation by a rising or question intonation. This kind of yes-or-no question expresses surprise, wonder, disbelief, and is used to ask for a reconfirmation, or rescission or denial of the information given in the sentence.

(7) *Napintas diáy balásang?* 'Did you say the lady is beautiful?'

10.2.2. Suppletive questions. A suppletive question is a sentence whose subject is an interrogative pronoun and whose predicate is a definite predicate. This type of question requires an answer other than yes or no. Formally, the answer to a suppletive question is usually a complete sentence or a definite or indefinite sentence. The suppletive question whose subject is *anyá* 'what' and whose predicate verb is *aramíden* 'do' or *kuaén* 'do' followed by an actor complement is answered by a situational sentence or a verb phrase.

(8) *Sinnó ka?* 'Who are you?'

(9) *Siák ni Pédro.* 'I am Peter.'

(10) *Aná ti ár-aramídem?* 'What are you doing?'

(11) *Agdígdígosak.* 'I am taking a bath.'

10.3. Intentive sentences. Intentive sentences express wish, desire, or intention. They are either desiderative or non-desiderative.

10.3.1. Desiderative. The center of the predicate of desiderative sentences is either *mayát* or *kayát*, which are intrinsically verbs whose actor is always definite. The former is actor-focus while the latter is goal-focus. The desiderative words take a goal complement which is either a noun phrase or a sentence pre-

ceded by *nga*. If the actor of the goal-focus sentence is the same as that of the embedding sentence, the actor is dropped and *nga* is replaced by *ti*.

(12) *Mayát diáy pádi nga umáy ka ditóy.* 'The priest allows you to come here.'

(13) *Kayát diáy pádi ti umáy ditóy.* 'The priest wants to come here.'

The embedded goal-focus sentence cannot be focused; however, any of the complements in the sentence may be focused by making it the subject of the desiderative passive sentence in the definite or indefinite sentence form.

(14) *Kayát na ti gumátang ti baláy.* 'He wants to buy a house.'

(15) *Baláy ti kayát na nga gatángen.* 'What he wants to buy is a house.'

10.3.2. Non-desiderative. The center of the predicate of non-desiderative sentences is *madí*, which is intrinsically a verb and is always actor-focus and transitive. Its actor is always definite. The goal of *madí* is either a noun phrase or a sentence preceded by *nga*. The actor of an embedding sentence which is the same as its embedded sentence is dropped.

(16) *Madí diáy balásang nga matúrog ka ditóy.* 'The lady does not want you to sleep here.'

(17) *Madí nga matúrog ditóy diáy balásang.* 'The lady does not want to sleep here.'

CHAPTER 11

OTHER SYNTACTIC CONSTRUCTIONS

11.0. Introduction. The syntactic constructions which are discussed here are the constructions of modification, coordination and comparison.

11.1. Modification. There are four types of modification construction: (a) *possessive*, (b) *locative*, (c) *attributive*, and (d) *adverbial*.

(a) The possessive construction consists of a *possessed noun* and a *possessor noun* appearing in this order with a *possessive marker* between them. The possessive marker is either proper or common and singular or plural.

- (1) *diáy baláy ni Pédro* 'the house of Peter'
- (2) *diáy baláy ti bakét* 'the house of the old woman'
- (3) *diáy baláy da Pédro* 'the house of Peter and his companions'
- (4) *diáy baláy dagití babbakét* 'the house of the old women'

If the possessor is a pronoun, the marker is not used.

- (5) *diáy baláy na* 'his house'
- (6) *diáy baláy da* 'their house'

(b) The attributive construction is marked by the particle *nga* appearing between its two immediate constituents. The head constituent may be a noun or an adjective.

If the head is a noun, the attribute may be an adjective, a numeral or another noun. The numeral attribute always occurs before the head noun.

- (7) *talló nga táo* 'three persons'

The adjective attribute may occur before or after the head noun.

(8) *diáy napíntas nga balásang* 'the beautiful maiden'

(9) *diáy balásang nga napíntas* 'the beautiful maiden'

The noun attribute normally occurs after the head noun.

(10) *diáy baláy nga bató* 'the stone house'

(11) *diáy títser nga babái* 'the lady teacher'

(c) The locative construction consists of two nouns with a locative marker appearing between them. The second noun expresses the location of the first noun head.

(12) *ti balásang ití áway* 'the farm girl'

(13) *diáy áso idiáy paraángan* 'the house at the entrance'

(d) An adverbial construction consists of a word followed by an adverb. There is no overt marker of this construction. The adverb is an attribute of the preceding word which may be a verb, adjective, noun, pronoun or numeral.

(14) *addá pay* 'there is still'

(15) *napíntas ngarúd* 'beautiful indeed'

(16) *ni Pédro láeng* 'only Peter'

(17) *siká sa* 'you (singular) it seems'

(18) *talló láeng* 'three only'

11.2. Coordination. A coordination construction consists of two or more words belonging to the same part of speech. This construction is marked by a *coordinating particle* which appears between the two words in the series. If the series has more than two words, the coordinating particle may appear before the last word or before each of the words except the first one.

(19) *diáy áso ken púsa* 'the dog and cat'

(20) *diáy áso, púsa, manók ken kaldíng* 'the dog, cat, chicken and goat'

(21) *diáy áso ken púsa ken manók ken kaldíng* 'the dog and cat and chicken and goat'

11.3. Comparison. A structure of comparison consists of an adjectival sentence whose predicate adjective is in the comparative form and a noun or pronoun preceded by the particle *ngem* 'than'. This construction says that the subject of the sentence has more of the quality of the adjective than the noun or pronoun.

(22) *Napínpintas díáy asáwak ngem díáy asáwam.*

'My wife is more beautiful than your wife.'

(23) *Dákdakkélak ngem síká.* 'I am bigger than you.'